

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BRASIL 00036 031338Z

47/60

ACTION ARA-10

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FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3180

INFO AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO

AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

C O N F I D E N T I A L BRASILIA 0036

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: AO, BR, US, PFOR

SUBJECT: DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY QUOTED ON ANGOLA, DEFENSE  
OF SOUTH ATLANTIC

SUMMARY: BASING ITSELF--NOT WITH ENTIRE ACCURACY-- ON QUOTATIONS  
ATTRIBUTED TO DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY MULCAHY, PROMINENT NEWSPAPER  
UNDER FRONT-PAGE HEADLINE "DEFENSE OF SOUTH ATLANTIC WILL  
DEPEND ON BRAZIL" DRAWS IMPLICATION THAT USG CONTEMPLATING ESTABLISH-  
MENT OF NAVAL FACILITIES IN BRAZIL. INSIDE STORY QUOTES MULCAHY  
AS SAYING INTER ALIA THAT USG WARNED GOB ITS RECOGNITION OF ANGOLA  
COULD BOOMERANG, AND THAT CLOSENESS OF ANGOLA TO BRAZIL SHOWS  
DANGER OF SOVIET-CONTROLLED ANGOLA. GUIDANCE URGENTLY REQUESTED.  
END SUMMARY: END CONFIDENTIAL.

BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED

1. UNDER HEADLINE "DEFENSE OF THE ATLANTIC WILL DEPEND  
ON BRAZIL," ESTADO DE SAO PAULO JANUARY 1 RAN A FRONT  
PAGE SUMMARY DRAWING ON INTERVIEW OF DEPUTY ASSISTANT  
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 BRASIL 00036 031338Z

SECRETARY MULCAHY BY ESTADO CORRESPONDENT SERGIO MOTTA MELLO

AND ASSERTING THAT "THE EVOLUTION OF THE RELATION OF FORCES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC WITH REGARD TO THE CIVIL WAR IN ANGOLA WILL DEPEND--IN THE CASE THAT RUSSIAN INFLUENCE IN THE REGION INCREASES--ON TWO BASIC FACTORS: THE APPROVAL, BY THE CONGRESS, OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF NAVAL BASES IN THE REGION (AN IDEA ALREADY CONSIDERED BY THE PENTAGON) AND THE POSITION OF BRAZIL, WHICH RECOGNIZES THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MPLA".

2. FRONT PAGE ACCOUNT CONTINUES, " THE POSITION OF BRAZIL WAS ALWAYS A SOURCE OF WORRY TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WHICH WENT SO FAR AS TO MANIFEST TO ITAMARATY ITS 'SURPRISE' OVER THE RECOGNITION OF THE MPLA GOVERNMENT, BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR WAS DEFINED, A FACT WHICH COULD BOOMERANG AGAINST BRAZILIAN INTERESTS IN AFRICA, "AND ADDS THAT THE PENTAGON ALSO INTENDS TO REQUEST INCREASED MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO "OLD SOUTH ATLANTIC ALLIES, BRAZIL IN FIRST PLACE. THIS INFORMATION WAS DIVULGED YESTERDAY IN WASHINGTON BY EDWARD MULCAHY, ADVISOR TO KISSINGER FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS."

3. INSIDE STORY DECLARES "WHILE US POLITICAL SOURCES ARE ALREADY ANNOUNCING THE DEATH OF DETENTE AND SPEAK OF A 'SECOND COLD WAR' AWAKENED BY THE CONFRONTATION IN ANGOLA, IN AN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH ESTADO, EDWARD MULCAHY, SECOND PRINCIPAL ASSISTANT OF HENRY KISSINGER FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS, EXPLAINS THAT ANY ALTERATION IN THE RELATION OF FORCES IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC WILL DEPEND FUNDAMENTALLY ON TWO FACTORS: (1) AN EVOLUTION OF THE ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR FAVORABLE TO CONCRETE SOVIET INFLUENCE IN THE REGION AND (2) THE POSITION OF THE (U.S.) CONGRESS, TO WHICH IT WILL FALL TO DECIDE ON A POSSIBLE RESPONSE (ALREADY IN CONSIDERATION BY THE PENTAGON) LOOKING TOWARD THE CONSTRUCTION OF NAVAL BASES IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC AND, AS AN ADDITIONAL OR ALTERNATIVE MEASURE, AN INCREASE IN THE AMOUNT OF MILITARY AID TO OLD ALLIES IN THE REGION, LED IN THIS CASE BY BRAZIL. IN THE MEANTIME, THE HYPOTHESIS OF A MILITARY STRENGTHENING OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC, BESIDES THE INTERNAL PROBLEMS WHICH PERSIST BETWEEN

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BRASIL 00036 031338Z

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND THE LEGISLATURE, COULD PRESENT DIFFICULTIES IN COMING ABOUT ALSO FOR REASONS OF A DIPLOMATIC NATURE."

4. INSIDE STORY ALSO ATTRIBUTES FOLLOWING QUOTES TO MULCAHY: (A) "AT THE TIME OF THE RECOGNITION OF THE MPLA BY THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT, WE WARNED ITAMARATY THAT THIS DECISION COULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF A BOOMERANG, THAT

IS, REBOUND AGAINST BRAZIL SHOULD THE WAR CHANGE THE COURSE

OF EVENTS, IN CASE ANOTHER MOVEMENT SHOULD INSTALL ITSELF IN LUANDA, CONTROL THE COUNTRY AND PERHAPS EVEN, AS A REPRISAL, BREAK RELATIONS WITH BRAZIL; (B) "A STRAIGHT LINE DRAWN ON A MAP FROM LUANDA TO RIO DE JANEIRO SERVES TO SHOW THE DANGERS OF AN ANGOLA CONTROLLED BY THE SOVIET UNION." (C) "I HAVE TALKED WITH SOME OF THEM (U.S. CONGRESSMEN OPPOSED TO US INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA), WHO THINK THAT A WITHDRAWAL OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO ANGOLA WOULD PLACE THE US IN A POSITION MORALLY SUPERIOR TO THAT OF THE SOVIET UNION, THAT WE WOULD BE PRAISED FOR THAT AND THAT WE WOULD THEN BE IN A POSITION TO DENOUNCE THE RUSSIAN INTERVENTION IN THE UNITED NATIONS, BUT THE POSITION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE IS THAT WE CANNOT RUN THIS RISK."

5. STORY ALSO CITES MULCAHY AS DISCOUNTING ARGUMENT THAT SOVIETS WOULD NOT TAKE ANGOLA BECAUSE OF PREVIOUS UNSUCCESSFUL EXPERIENCES WITH AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS, AS STATING THAT SOVIET INFLUENCE OVER FUTURE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT LIMIT ITSELF TO DISTURBING ONLY NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, AND AS NOTING THAT CURRENT LEGISLATIVE MOOD IN US IS NOT PROPITIOUS TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF NEW BASES ABORAD.

6. THE STORY ALSO ASSERTS, WITHOUT ATTRIBUTION, THAT US CONGRESS RESENTFUL OF CONFLICTING INFORMATION PROVIDED BY STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS ON ONE HAND AND SECRETARY KISSINGER ON ANOTHER REGARDING REASONS FOR US INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA.

7. IN ACCOMPANYING INSIDE STORY, ESTADO CITED "DIPLOMATIC SOURCES ", AS DECLARING THAT GOB "WILL ONLY PRONOUNCE ITSELF WITH RESPECT TO THE INSTALLATION OF US NAVAL BASES  
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 BRASIL 00036 031338Z

IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC 'WHEN AND IF' THAT POSSIBILITY SHOULD BE CONCRETELY ESTABLISHED. IN THAT CASE, BRAZIL WOULD EXAMINE THE SUBJECT CAREFULLY, HAVING IN VIEW NATURALLY ITS COMMITMENTS TO THE DEFENSE OF THE WESTERN WORLD AND ITS OWN RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PORTUGUESE-SPEAKING AFRICAN COUNTRIES--BUT ALWAYS GUIDING ITSELF ON THE BASIS OF ITS OWN INTERESTS." STORY CONTINUES, "BRAZIL, TODAY, IT IS EMPHASIZED IN DIPLMATIC CIRCLES, DOES NOT HAVE A POLICY OF AUTOMATIC ALIGNMENT. IF ON THE ONE HAND THERE ARE MANY SIMILAR INTEREST BETWEEN BRAZIL AND THE U.S. WITH REGARD TO THE DEFENSE OF THE WESTERN WORLD, ON THE OTHER BRAZIL ALSO HAS IMPORTANT INTERESTS OF ITS OWN TO SAFEGUARD IN VIEW OF ITS POLICY OF APPROXIMATION WITH AFRICA AND ABOVE ALL OF APPROXIMATION WITH THE YOUNG PORTUGUESE-SPEAKING NATIONS." STORY ALSO NOTES THAT BRAZIL'S AFRICAN POLICY HAS JUST BEEN

ENDORSED BY PRESIDENT GEISEL, AND ASSERTS THAT FOREIGN MINISTRY IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE "SUFFERED CERTAIN PRESSURE FROM WESTERN COUNTRIES, ABOVE ALL ON THE PART OF THE U.S." AFTER RECOGNIZING MPLA GOVERNMENT. END UNCLASSIFIED.

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8. COMMENT: WE OF COURSE HAVE NO IDEA HOW MUCH OF MATERIAL ATTRIBUTED TO MULCAHY IS ACCURATE, AND WE NOTE THAT MOTTA MELLO'S STORY PROVIDES NO SPECIFIC FACTUAL BASIS FOR CONCLUSION ESTADO DRAWS THAT US CONTEMPLATING CONSTRUCTION OF NAVAL BASES IN BRAZIL. FOR SUCH INFERENCE TO BE DRAWN BY BRAZILIANS IS NOT, HOWEVER, SURPRISING. WE HAVE URGENT NEED FOR GUIDANCE, WITH PARTICULAR ADDRESS TO TWO SPECIFIC POINTS: (1) AT WHAT LEVEL, WHEN, AND WHERE, WAS ANY DEMARCHE MADE TO BRAZILIANS IN WHICH "BOOMERANG" THREAT WAS RAISED? (OUR APPROACH HERE DID NOT MAKE THAT POINT.) (2) IS ANY SERIOUS CONSIDERATION BEING GIVEN TO IDEA OF ATTEMPTING TO ESTABLISH NAVAL FACILITIES HERE? WE MAY, OF COURSE, BE ASKED ABOUT THESE AND RELATED POINTS BOTH BY PRESS AND BY GOB, AND HOPE GUIDANCE CAN BE PROVIDED ASAP FOR BOTH TYPES OF INQUIRY. END COMMENT.  
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## Message Attributes

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